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867 Another episode concerns a small boy who had just become
602 aware of the "polite form" of speech, that indirect mode of ad-
[601] dress in use between affinal relatives who must conduct them-
[576] selves with restraint when they are together. He approached his grandmother's home where there were visitors before whom he was too bashful to appear and, in this most formal manner, asked if the guests were still inside. He was, of course, greeted by
• [606] laughter. He did not realize until later that he "was doing what a son-in-law does who thinks his mother-in-law is in a certain place and wants to make sure before he goes in."

867 A comparable mistake was made by some little boys at a girl's
881 puberty rite. During the ceremony the adolescent girl runs around a basket tray placed to the east of the ceremonial structure. In her path, that the benefits of the ceremony may accrue to them also, run young boys and even old men. "When the girls ran around the basket, we boys were expected to run after them. At first, we thought it was a real race, and several of us beat the girls. Then one old man told us that it was not the way, that we were not supposed to pass them, so we stayed behind the other three times."

869 Even when the cultural ethic has been unmistakably indi-
764 cated, a youngster may lag in conforming to it. One man was
[761] reluctant to talk about death or burial, for horror of such topics is great, but he confessed that this had not always been his state of mind:

> I remember that whenever a funeral procession was passing by we were told not to look at it. But we did look at it whenever the old people were not around.
>
> I once asked my grandmother where they were taking a dead man who was being carried away. She told me not to look at the procession. Then she told me that they were putting the man away; that he couldn't walk, or dance, or eat, or sing by himself any more; that they were putting him under the ground.
>
> "But if they are putting him under the ground, how will he keep the dirt out of his eyes?" I asked. She explained to me that he was all fixed up so that no dirt would get in his eyes. It was the first time I had ever thought about death. I began to ask more questions of my grandmother, but she told me that he couldn't come back any more and to stop talking about it.
>
> [857] A few days later we children played funeral. We killed grasshoppers and buried them.
>
> I wasn't afraid until I was about seven years old. Then I learned about ghosts, and from that time on I was pretty much afraid.

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not possible for them to practice total avoidance, considered the ultimate in respect and reserve. The possibility of complete avoidance does exist for cousins of opposite sex, however, since they are of different households. One man who was asked how he would demonstrate his respect for his female cousin answered, "A boy shows his respect for a girl cousin by not visiting her."

From this conception of cousin relations it is not a great jump to total avoidance, and we find that some persons, though by no means all, do practice such avoidance. This is the only instance in which a true blood relative is avoided, though the married man responds to one of the most inclusive lists of affinal avoidances on record.

Avoidance of cousins of opposite sex "starts when they are old enough to understand such things, when they have grown to maturity, and lasts all their lives."

Šilah who are cousins, not sister and brother, sometimes hide from each other. R. hides from J.; they are cousins. They cannot see each other at all. It wouldn't be done between sister and brother, or between two boy cousins or two girl cousins. Cousins do it because they love each other very much and wish to show their respect. After they start it, they are very careful what they say about each other, for their relation is one of respect, like that of a man to his mother-in-law.

J. and S. are cousins. They have hidden from each other all their lives. When cousins do this, they give presents to each other in the beginning, and after that they help each other all the time. They hide from each other from that time on just as a man hides from his mother-in-law. Either the man or the woman can start it. You can't hide from a sister or an aunt. It is only between cousins of opposite sex that this is done, not between two men or two women. You cannot arrange with a cousin to use the polite form only;[14] it must be hiding or nothing. Of course, if you must speak to your cousin who hides from you, you might stand behind a tree, and then you would use polite form in talking to her. K. and Mrs. C. were cousins who hid from each other too.

I had a cousin. Just because she liked me, she wanted me to do it. I had been away to school. When I got back, she gave me a saddle and bridle. Then she asked me to hide from her. I said, "No." I told her I had been to school, that I didn't want to go the old way, that maybe the government would get after me if I did. So she said, "All right." This was about 1897.

[14] For an explanation of polite form see pp. 171–81.

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cigarette was rolled by an old man or woman. This was done so the person could reach the age of the one who rolled it. The old person prayed and lit it for him."

Age brings prestige, if it is ever to come to an individual. The band leaders are chosen from the most forceful heads of local groups; local group leaders are the most authoritative voices of extended families. Few men who have not lived long enough to rear a large family and to see their daughters marry well head extended families. With his children and grandchildren around him and sons-in-law to do his bidding, a man may establish important alliances and gain political and economic stature. That older persons figure so prominently in the ceremonial and political life is significant for the grandparent-grandchild relations.

The rule of matrilocal residence permits constant contact between the child and his mother's parents. These kin are usually the oldest and, while they retain their vigor, the most respected members of the extended family. The family is the realization of the line they have founded. Their daughters and unmarried sons owe them obedience and deference, and their sons-in-law are bound and subordinated to them by strict social and economic rules.

The maternal grandparents concern themselves in countless ways with the child's development. They are constantly consulted by their daughter on problems of child-rearing. They are present at the first ceremonies held for the baby and contribute whatever is needed for these occasions. It is often one of these grandparents who acts as the cradle-maker and shaman of the cradle ceremony. They may suggest a first name for their grandchild. Their home is always open to him, and it is not unusual for him to sleep there. If his mother dies and his father leaves the extended family because it cannot offer him a suitable mate, the maternal grandparents are likely to rear the child.

My father was left an orphan at about six years of age and was brought up by his grandparent. It was his mother's father who took care of him. This man lived in Chiricahua country. My father lived there with him until he was twelve or fifteen years old. He was with the old man all the time. When he told about it in after years, he said he often wondered why this old man took such an interest in him. He often wondered if he was worth it, worth having so much attention

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584 156 "Well, J.," L. said, "you've been going around with that girl and now I guess you can go with her for the rest of your life. Yesterday I acted as a go-between for you and fixed it up for you to marry her. So we'll have to clean you up, and you'll have to leave me and set up your own home."

J. couldn't believe it was true, but the man had done it. And Mrs. E. had taken it seriously. But J. was glad anyway. He married the girl shortly after that. I sure joke with J.'s wife about this! I tell her that if L. hadn't got drunk, she never would have been married.

584 Usually the go-between leaves the young man behind to await the outcome of the negotiations and performs his work without the suitor's co-operation:

I went to K. He agreed to do it. I was to stay at his place and wait for him while he went out and talked to her father. He promised that he would hurry back as soon as he could. He was all dressed up in his best clothes.

I was pretty nervous while he was gone. I thought of the possibility that I would be turned down. I made up my mind that if I was turned down I would get out of that place just as fast and as quietly as possible.

By and by I saw K. coming. He was taking his time instead of hurrying. "Well! What did he say?" I asked him. "Prepare yourself for bad news," he told me. But I could see he was joking. He fooled around with me for a few minutes before he told me everything was all right. He told me then that the girl's father had agreed right away.

But when there is some uncertainty about gaining consent and the young man's personal assurances of good faith may be required in order to secure a favorable reply, the suitor accompanies the go-between and remains nearby. Whenever possible the actual face-to-face encounter of a man and his potential parents-in-law is avoided, because, should consent be given, he finds himself standing in the presence of those whom he should not see.

584 606

When I went with D., who acted as go-between for me, I stopped at the door. I was not going in there. I would have a better chance if I stayed outside. D. told me, "Stay outside so that you will have more chance; for if you marry this girl, you will have to hide from her mother." J. [a rejected suitor for the hand of the same girl] had come right in with his go-between and made a fool of himself.

I stayed near by so that if they should say, "Well, let's hear from this man," I'd be there and could speak from where I was. I couldn't run right in there and show no respect. So I was standing near the door.

On request, however, the young man has to appear before the kin group of the girl he hopes to marry:

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Suppose I want to marry a certain girl. A relative of mine goes over to her folks and speaks to them about it. They might say, "Send that boy over here." I go over there. They tell me to sit outside, perhaps, and they talk to me from the inside of their camp. Or they might tell me to come in. I go in. They ask me what I intend to do. I give them a good talk, telling them that I will work for them, stay with them, bring in something to each one of them, and give so many horses to them too. Then, if they agree, one of the old ladies, a relative of the girl I am going to marry, may put a blanket over her head and walk out, saying, "I'm going to hide from this man." The father and mother do that too. They have to [i.e., practice avoidance]. There is no choice for them. The close relatives of my wife are all there and show what they intend to do. Those who are not there send word to me about hiding or speaking polite. Then I act that way toward them.

The presentation of gifts is a convention that is seldom violated. "A man must give a present to his wife's relatives or be disgraced; the woman is disgraced too if this is not done." It is expected that a chaste and dutiful girl will attract valuable gifts, and, in the words of an informant, "it's not much use asking for a woman in marriage if you can't give a present." It is one of the duties of the go-between to mention the gifts and to satisfy the girl's relatives that they will be adequate: "Whoever goes as go-between for the young man says, 'I want to ask you for your daughter. I'll give you so many horses, so many buckskins,' and he mentions whatever else he has been told to offer."

If an understanding between the families has been reached in advance and the visit of the go-between is merely a formality, he may take the presents with him and leave them as soon as consent is granted. More commonly, he returns later to deliver what has been promised. Therefore, the marriage gift is called "a burden has been brought." If the arrangement entails the giving of horses only, the prospective groom may simply turn them out to graze with those of his future parents-in-law.

There are no definite limits to the number of presents that may be promised, and the size of the gift has little bearing on the status of the principals:

The woman's status is not affected by the amount of the present. The man who gives a great deal is just thought of as a man who is able to give a great deal. It's considered all right, but he can't raise his position that way. About four or five horses with saddles would be a very big present. A horse or two would be normal and average.

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583 It would be a mistake to interpret these presents as a "bride price." They do not entitle the husband or his family to any extraordinary control over the wife or her property. In fact, the control exercised by the wife's family over the husband is much more stringent than that to which the woman is subject, despite the total absence of any exchange gifts to the man's family. Moreover, these gifts or their equivalents are never returned, not even in cases of unfaithfulness on the part of the woman or of dissolution of the marriage tie.

[182] [602] [606] The marriage gift functions as initial evidence of the economic support, co-operation, and generosity which a man owes his wife's close relatives. The promise of future assistance can even take the place of the gift on occasion, for it is said that a poor man, unable to muster wealth at the time he wishes to marry, might say: "I am poor, but whatever I am able to accumulate in the way of material things will be yours, for I will be here with you all the time."

The usual practice, after the presents have been received, is to "divide them up among the relatives." Kin of the girl who have contributed to her support and who have been consulted about the marriage arrangements, are sure to receive some part, if only a token offering.

585 [591] As soon as a separate dwelling can be built and equipped, the young couple begin their married life together, without ritual or formalities:

> A day or two after consent is given, the marriage takes place. As soon as everything is ready they start living together. The girl and her female relatives build the house. They put it up near the home of the girl's parents, for the young people usually go to live with the girl's relatives. The relatives of the girl usually furnish baskets and household equipment for the place, though sometimes the man's family may give them things with which to start out.

591 606 This emphasis upon matrilocal residence calls attention to one of the fundamental themes of the culture, for the organization of the economy assumes the presence and the closest co-operation of the sons-in-law.

> A man feels under obligation to his father-in-law. He feels that he should hunt for him. Therefore, there was the tendency in the old days to go to the wife's people. A man's parents recognized this obligation too. They often said, "Well, that's what you married for. You'd better go over there."

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Residence with or near his affinities is almost imperative for the man, for obviously it would be an insupportable burden for him to maintain a distant encampment of his own and still provide liberally for his wife's parents. Moreover, his identification with these affinal relatives is not without its reciprocal benefits.

At marriage a man goes to the camp of the girl's parents to live. We do this because a woman is more valuable than a man. We do it to accommodate the woman. The son-in-law is considered a son and as one of the family. The in-laws depend a great deal on him. They depend on him for hunting and all kinds of work. He is almost a slave to them. Everything he gets on the hunt goes to them. In return he has privileges with the property of his wife's people. He can get anything they have very easily. It is understood that he can call on them for aid. This relationship dates from the time of consent to the marriage.

Sometimes the arrival of the groom is the signal for a celebration at the encampment of the bride to which relatives and friends of the couple are invited. The expense and labor are borne by the woman's relatives, although the man's kin, if they live close by, may assist. The program is the usual one of games, feasting, and social dancing. The festivities continue through a day and late into the night.

After marriage the face of the world is changed for the young man: he removes to another residence, he becomes drawn into the orbit of a new economic constellation, and he becomes subject to the edicts and desires of new masters.

THE MAN AND HIS WIFE'S RELATIVES

Primary avoidances and the avoidance behavior pattern.—The regular terms for various affinal relatives are all forms of one verb—the verb "to carry a burden." There have been recent extensions of the meaning of this root, but in the older sense the burden to which reference is made seems to have been the proceeds of the hunt:

I can say to anyone, "I will bring in [carry in] deer for you," using this word. Friends have said this to me because I do not hunt much. I say to them, using the same word, "Yes, bring in the game for me." This does not imply any relationship between us necessarily. On the other hand, when it comes to marriage, we speak of one who marries into our family as "one who carries things in for me" in the sense of "one who goes out and kills and carries in game for me." The word means to me that in the old days a son-in-law would go out and kill game

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601 192 224 606 for his parents-in-law. The word implies to me that the man's business is to hunt in this fashion for me if I am the father-in-law. It is his obligation to do so forever.

601 602 192 [606] It is not alone the father-in-law who calls a son-in-law "one who carries burdens for me." Every relative of the wife, no matter how remotely connected, is entitled to so address or refer to the husband. And the term with which he reciprocates is simply another form of the same verb which means "one for whom I carry burdens."

584 602 606 From the moment that consent to the marriage has been given, a relationship of total avoidance is established between the husband and certain of his wife's relatives. With these persons, avoidance is the unalterable rule and no choice is permitted. "Even if your wife's parents don't approve of the marriage, they

606 602 [591] [585] have to be ashamed [practice avoidance] anyway." These obligatory avoidance affinities are: the wife's mother, her father, her mother's mother, and her father's mother. Thus, when the young man comes to his new home, there are at least three affinal relatives living close by (providing they are still alive) upon whom he may not look, and who may not see him. Even at the marriage feast this rule of avoidance must be respected. Avoid-

606 591 264 596 602 ance makes necessary certain precautions in the arrangement of homes and obviates the possibility of a common meal for the larger relationship group, even though its members share the same larder.

[361] A man lives near his in-laws and brings what he gets on the hunt back to them, all of it. His food is prepared there at his mother-in-law's place anyway. The camp of the young people is so arranged that the place of the parents-in-law cannot be seen; it might be behind some brush with the door facing the other way. The wife eats with her husband, though the food is usually prepared at her mother's home.

593 264 606 [196] The bringing of food to the husband by the wife is termed "she sets something in a container before him":

This means the act of the wife in bringing to her husband food that has been prepared by her mother. The word is now jokingly used to lazy men in the sense of, "You want things pretty easy, don't you? You want things brought on a silver platter to you."

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The adjustments which avoidance requires are a constant source of humor: 606 522 602

One day J. and I were in the trader's store. The baker was bringing in a tray of bread and rolls, holding it before him. We did not see him and were in his way. Someone shouted, "You, get out of the way! Do you think this is food being carried to an avoided person?" He said that because it looked as if the baker was coming to wait on us with a tray. Everyone laughed.

The difficulties of avoidance under all conditions give rise to a crop of "mother-in-law jokes" too: 606 522

We have stories and jokes about the mother-in-law. A man will tell how every time he wanted to cross a path or do this or that, his mother-in-law would always come into sight. It sounds funny when told by an Indian in the Indian language.

But, in spite of such levity, the obligation to avoid the designated affinities is solemn. The avoided person is called "the one to whom I do not go," and all kindly disposed individuals are expected to sound the warning, "Do not walk here!" when an individual is about to come into the presence of anyone from whom he "hides." 606 602

Sometimes by accident you meet a person you should avoid, nevertheless. Then you just duck away as fast as possible. When it happens, a man gets angry at himself sometimes. He says, "I should not have gone here." Or he might blame his mother-in-law and say, "She had no business being around here." It is a custom violated, and we do not like it.

The gravest objection is not to the proximity of the avoided relative or to the sound of his voice but to the sight of him:

If I do not hide from my wife's relatives whom I am supposed to avoid, they will call me a witch. If I run into the woman from whom I am supposed to hide and do it right along, she gets angry and calls me a witch. They say you'll get blind if you keep looking at these in-laws. This one tells the other relatives and they may try to chase me away perhaps. But I love my wife and want to stay on. [578] Sometimes the Chiricahua had a little war among themselves about things like this, and someone would get killed.

The average person takes little risk of jeopardizing his sight or of being considered a witch: 606

Often a mother-in-law will not take part in a social dance if she thinks it will expose her to her son-in-law. The same with a feast; both will not stay around at

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606 the same time. Often a man has to duck away or go out the back way before a crowd of people when his mother-in-law comes. They keep it up today and have to be just as careful, although it is sometimes even harder now.

596 606 602 [203] The husband is always conscious of the wishes and attitudes of the affinal relatives he never sees; "the man is ruled by them." Using his wife as messenger, they send him orders and hints of praise or censure. They know as much about his activities as if they shared his household, and he is correspondingly sensitive to their reactions. Said one man: "I know that if I had trouble [593] with my wife, my father-in-law would stick up for her. Your father-in-law tells you to do something, and if you don't do it, you have your wife on your hands, scolding all the time."

606 203 596 A common device of the parents-in-law for communicating directions is to tell their daughter what they want done when they know her husband is within hearing. Once a man with whom I was working paused to tell his daughter that he wanted some rocks, which he considered a hazard to his home, removed. No mention of who should do the work was made. But the implications were clear, and the next day the son-in-law was busy at the task. Soon after, the older man discussed the state of the woodpile in the same impersonal vein, and the following day the son-in-law was chopping wood.

606 203 Much oblique communication passes between avoidance affinities when a situation warrants it:

> You can't see your mother-in-law, but that doesn't mean that you don't think a great deal of her. Very likely she's the one you count on most in your wife's family. If you and your wife have trouble, maybe your mother-in-law will stand [593] out of sight and pretend to be talking to the baby or someone else, and she will talk with you and try to settle the trouble you have been having. If she has [586] stood up for you in this way, probably, even if you separate from your wife, you will continue to bring your mother-in-law food and things because you like her.

606 203 521 Sometimes the pretense of indirect discourse is dropped and an actual conversation between the two avoidance affinities takes place:

> In cases of emergency, or if you have wronged your wife, your mother-in-law may approach near enough to speak to you. She usually comes at night, but if she comes during the day, she must be behind some object so that you cannot see her face.

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Then, too, you may have to go and talk to her about important things. If you are separated from your wife and you trust your mother-in-law, you may get the help of somebody at your mother-in-law's camp to see that she is safely inside so you won't run into her. Then, standing outside, you may talk to her.

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The father-in-law, too, may find it necessary to state his views directly:

I talked to that boy, her husband. I said, "I'm talking to you. This day means something. It shouldn't be wasted. This day means something to everybody. Every day means that you should bring in something to eat. Make it count; work and make something. If you have nothing to eat, your wife cannot cook anything for you. It's not your place to be angry at your wife because you don't have anything to eat. Look at her clothes. Many things rest on you. It's the man's duty to bring in the meat and clothes. You can't expect the woman to do that."

I said, "My daughter, it is your place to keep house. Keep everything neat about your place. Keep yourself neat the way you were when I was raising you. Wear good clothes. Keep your husband's clothes clean. Keep your fire going all the time. Quit running around nights and doing things as though you were single. Don't fuss at each other."

And I said to the boy, "A woman must be treated well because she feeds you; she's the only friend you have. Your mother and father can't treat you better than your wife does. That's the way I feel about my wife." I told him, "She's the mother of the whole thing, this life you have to go through, and you may have a long life."

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When quarrels arise among a man's affinal relatives, it is to his advantage to be as neutral as possible, so that his relatives-in-law, and particularly his wife's parents, will not condemn him for intrusion into their affairs.

Now there's trouble at my place. My wife's stepmother told her that a cousin said something about her. So my wife hasn't gone over to visit that cousin for a long time. The cousin sees me and asks me why, but I make excuses and never say. But then my wife met this cousin and told her the truth. The next day this cousin came over to the stepmother and asked, "Did you tell that woman I said so-and-so?" The stepmother said, "No." So now the cousin says my wife made it all up. I thought it best to let my father-in-law know that I'm not taking sides, that I'm only an in-law here. He says that it's all right, he does not hold it against me. It's the nature of women, and we shouldn't bother about it, he says.

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But it would be superficial to infer that the husband is constantly tyrannized by his avoidance affinities. They would be ill advised, indeed, to drive to divorce a man who is discharging

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606 578 596 his obligations to them satisfactorily. "The mother-in-law sticks up for the son-in-law in case of trouble if he is known to be a good man. The mother-in-law does not beat about the bush. She tells the person right out what is in her mind."

[178] That the son-in-law can expect justice and consideration is illustrated by a case, phrased in terms of present-day economy, which preserves values operative in purely aboriginal times. The [156] son-in-law here assumes a passive attitude, for it would be unbecoming of him to voice his own demands.

606 607 578 596 If one of the sons is lazy and the brother-in-law does all the work, all the herding, and, when they come to sell the sheep or to slaughter the animals, the son wants his proportionate share of the proceeds, his father will say to him, "My son, your brother-in-law did all the work. Now you want just as much of the profit as if you had worked. You must go and see your sister."

His sister says, "Take your bunch of sheep and put them in some other flock. Get someone who will herd your sheep for nothing! That's what you are looking for." The brother-in-law will sit by, keeping his peace.

606 596 [593] Avoidance and honor comprise only one aspect of a man's obligations to his wife's parents; the other facet is the duty of economic support. "A son may help support the old people if he desires to, but the son-in-law has to support them."

[224] If his father-in-law wants a son-in-law to do something, he has to do it. If he is given a bow and arrows, he has to go out. He is supposed to turn the whole deer over to his father-in-law and mother-in-law and not to take any unless they give it to him. The father-in-law and mother-in-law can share it with their neighbors if they wish to. The young man gives to his in-laws even if he is not ordered out to hunt by them.

606 596 This sense of identification with the economic activities of the wife's relatives begins immediately upon marriage. "There is something about it so that a man helps his wife's people." "As soon as a man marries he feels that he should work for his father-in-law and mother-in-law." The connection between this economic tie and the rule of residence is again emphasized. "It is usual to live with the wife's people. In the old days the boy had to work for his father-in-law. If a man killed two deer, he would give most of it to his wife's people." But so strong is the sense of economic obligation to the wife's parents that its dictates are heeded even when, for some reason, matrilocal residence is not

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maintained. One informant said, "Now I live a mile or so from my mother-in-law. I always want to help her though, for she is alone and getting old."

This assistance is accepted as a matter of course and is viewed as a right by the older affinity. "A man would come to a son-in-law for aid before he would approach anyone else, even his own brother." Requests made of a brother are a test of fraternal solidarity and are seldom refused, but they constitute a tax on the generosity of one who has obligations in other directions. To approach the son-in-law instead relates to a primary economic duty.

Although the son-in-law (because he is younger and more vigorous than his wife's father) is called upon for the most arduous duties of the extended family, he, too, derives benefits from the arrangement, for "he may take anything belonging to the parents-in-law, not because they are rich or poor, but because that is the rule."

Often, in the economic exchanges that follow a marriage, the son-in-law is by far the gainer. He may come to his wife's relatives as a young man without many possessions. The older members of the encampment which he joins may be wealthy and influential. Whatever of their goods he needs he may use freely, and the reputation of the family advances his interests.

It occasionally happens that an affinal relative takes advantage of the son-in-law. One man was considerably piqued because his mother-in-law, who had carried away untanned hides from his home with the understanding that she would keep some for herself and return the others tanned, had conveniently forgotten the latter part of the agreement. He was particularly irritated because nothing could be done about the matter, since it was his mother-in-law who was involved.

On the other hand, there are cases where a man has attempted to elude the claims of his parent-in-law:

> This year I had to make J. help my other son-in-law put up my camp at the grounds of the girl's puberty rite. I asked him a first time, and he sent word that he was working. I knew he wasn't doing a thing. So I sent someone with word that he had to do it, and so he did.

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602 *The extensions of avoidance.*—The list of four affinities from whom the newly married man must hide is only the theoretical minimum; he is likely to be called upon to avoid many more individuals. Where the possibility of choice exists, the decision concerning which of the alternatives is to be adopted rests with the wife's relative. All the close kin of the wife—of her own, her parents', and her grandparents' generation—may elect to request avoidance. The list includes siblings and cousins of her father and mother, her grandfathers, siblings and cousins of her grandparents, and her own siblings and cousins.

In practice the number is much reduced, however. With the exception of those for whom avoidance is mandatory, most of the woman's male relatives will require only the polite form of speech from the husband. Many of them will waive even this requirement. Seldom do a woman's relatives of her own generation exercise their privilege of requesting avoidance. Most cousins and many siblings make no attempt to inaugurate even polite-form usages. The man's affinities who are most likely to demand avoidance are the sisters of his mother-in-law. It would be an affront if they failed to do so. Female cousins of the mother-in-law may be satisfied with polite form, however, and where the cousin relationship is rather remote, all special usages may be ignored.

602 606 Those who have been mentioned thus far as persons with the right to ask for avoidance are consanguineous relatives of the wife. But a stepmother who is not the wife's blood relative may request avoidance of her stepdaughter's husband. Once a young man and I were about to seek shelter from the cold in a trader's store. My friend opened the door, then said quickly, "I can't go in there. There is someone in there I can't see." We stole in through another door and made our way to a storeroom. The woman whose presence had made necessary our devious route turned out to be the stepmother and no real kin of the man's wife. Of the circumstances surrounding this case my companion said:

I avoid my wife's stepmother and cannot look at her. She requested it through my wife. It isn't necessary that a man avoid his wife's stepmother, but

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she sent word that we were to avoid each other, and so I must do it. She could have requested polite form only if she had wanted to, and we wouldn't have had to use that either if she had not requested it.

In a number of other cases the stepmother has not requested the avoidance.

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A man may be called upon to avoid those who have adopted and reared his wife, even though they are no real kin of the girl. The initiative comes from the foster-parents, and ordinarily none but the foster-mother and foster-father of the woman will be involved. Such cases are rare, however, for almost always some relatives survive to care for an orphan child.

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Where avoidance is not obligatory, there are a number of factors which may determine the decision. The closeness or remoteness of the relationship to the woman through whom the affinal bond is established is one of these. Thus, a sister of the wife's mother would be more likely to request avoidance than would the mother-in-law's female cousin, though both have the identical right theoretically. And, if a "first cousin" of the mother-in-law makes the request, it will still occasion no surprise, for she is considered a close relative of the bride. But if cousins of the mother-in-law beyond this range come forward with the demand, personal, less explicit reasons are likely to account for it.

When the two kin are very good friends, avoidance is likely to be the choice, for it is a means of honoring the wife by according the utmost respect to her mate. Since so much depends upon the manner in which intimacy has developed in the course of the years among kin, the reality may differ from the theoretical expectations. A mother's sister who has not got along too well with her niece may ask for no more than polite form from that relative's husband, whereas a mother's female cousin who happens to have the liveliest interest in the young woman may exercise full rights in the affinity situation. Accordingly, the selection of avoidance, where a choice exists, is evidence of approval of the union and of the principals to it.

Just as friendly backgrounds operate to establish avoidance understandings, so do opposite circumstances make them less

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602 likely. Where hostility has existed between the husband and the wife's relative in the past, avoidances which are not obligatory will certainly not be requested.

If the new affinity has formerly been on most familiar terms with the wife's relative, it is felt that the intimate knowledge implied makes difficult the formal behavior of an avoidance [195] obligation. Here, again, the polite form or less is deemed sufficient. Avoidance will also be waived when it is apparent that for some reason the two concerned are likely to be thrown together continually in situations where such behavior would be unfeasible.

Once avoidance has been established by choice, it is indistinguishable from avoidance begun automatically. Upon the marriage of his relative, the person who may exercise choice in respect to avoidance must come to an immediate decision. "There is no such thing as failing to avoid a certain relative-in-law for a number of years and then suddenly deciding to do it. The avoidance starts immediately after the marriage that makes it possible, or it does not occur at all." The decision to establish avoidance must be communicated to the relative at once, so that her husband will know what is expected of him and will not suffer the embarrassment of coming into the presence of one whom he should not see. If the husband and his wife's relative meet face to face before any notice is sent, it is very difficult to carry out the plan of avoidance:

B.'s wife is a distant relative of my wife. After I married I ran into her. I didn't know she was intending to hide from me. She didn't send any message to [195] me. When she saw me she said, "I was going to hide from him, but now I'll just be polite in words" [use polite form].

602 606 586 *The continuation or termination of avoidance.*—Even after the death of the spouse through whom it was established, unless extraordinary steps are taken, avoidance continues. And if the widower marries a woman of another family, the avoidance obligations to his first wife's relatives still persist:

F. was married to M.'s daughter. She died eight years ago. There were no other girls for him to marry in M.'s family when his wife died. He married E.'s girl. He avoids both Mrs. M. and Mrs. E. now.

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K. avoids my mother-in-law, who is his mother-in-law, too, by a first marriage. When his wife died there were no other available girls in the family. So he married outside the family. Now he avoids B., his present mother-in-law, too. 606 586

I hide from my present father-in-law. My first wife's mother was living until recently, and I hid from her too.

Avoidance of the wife's relatives commonly continues, also, after the separation of the married pair. This is all the more remarkable because, with divorce, the family of the woman loses all real claim to the economic support of the former husband. 602 606 586

The perpetuation of the avoidance relations serves a number of functions. It acts as a reminder that marriage is more than a matter of sexual privileges; that it is, in addition, a commitment of co-operation and respect between a man and a family—a commitment which death, remarriage, or divorce cannot entirely efface. Also it encourages a man to remarry into the same family after the death of his wife, for double obligations of this nature loom as a burden to him. Finally, it deters divorce and remarriage into another family with the attendant obligations. [581] [182] [587]

Termination of avoidance in any circumstances is strongly opposed by some informants:

According to the old custom, the person who stops avoiding his in-law is a witch. A man is a fool for stopping. I don't care if you are divorced; it goes on. It could be stopped, of course. I could get angry and say to my wife's relative, "Oh, I'm not going to hide from you any more." But what would people think of me? I wouldn't do it. I'm a good Chiricahua. You can't do it gracefully. The men in the three cases [of duplicate avoidance obligations following remarriage] I have just given you are young fellows. One is thirty-two years old, one is also in his thirties, the oldest is about forty. All were born under government supervision. If the young fellows do it, what do you think about the old fellows? They wouldn't stop doing it. C. told me these forms go on and on. [178]

And yet, under certain conditions, avoidance may be suspended or terminated:[3] 602 606

In an emergency, at the birth or death of a member of the family, in a case of life or death, you can go over avoidance and walk right in to the place where your mother-in-law or someone from whom you hide is. But it's not necessary to drop [195]

[3] The procedure described at this point is also used to terminate the cousin avoidances described on pp. 61–62. [605]

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602 606 [195] polite form at this time. You can say anything you want in polite form. This may occur at a birth, when a woman labors so hard that some man who knows how to take care of her is needed. Then they overlook it.

Obligatory avoidances cannot be permanently ended while the woman because of whom the relationship was established is still alive. Even where avoidance was optional, "almost always the woman whose marriage had started the relationship would be asked first and her approval gained if she were still alive."

A man might have bad luck. One after another of his relatives might die. There might be a certain relative whom he avoids, but who he thinks might give him good advice and encouragement if he could talk matters over with him. So he tells his wife that he does not want to avoid her relative any more. If she thinks it is all right, he rolls a cigarette, takes a few puffs on it, and sends it to the relative with word that, after this, they should not hide from each other. If the relative takes the cigarette and smokes it too, it is all over, and they do not hide from each other after that.

The first move may come from either affinal relative:

There was an equal right for either the husband or the woman's relative to roll and send the cigarette. A man might say to his wife: "I no longer want to avoid your brother. I want to be with him and go with him and speak with him." If his wife approved, he would have her take over the cigarette. When the avoidance is broken off like this we say, "It has become again that one goes to him."

[276] Cigarettes offered in this fashion do not have to be accepted:

When a cigarette was offered in this way to end an avoidance relationship, it could be refused, but this refusal would never show anger on the part of the person who refused. A man might say: "We have hidden from each other all these years. All this time we have helped each other and thought well of each other. I do not think our relations would be helped by this move. I would rather hide from you for the rest of my life."

Even when avoidance is abrogated, a measure of formality is retained. "If the two who are hiding from each other smoke a cigarette like that, they don't have to hide from each other any [195] more. But they have to keep on with the polite form."

602 606 587 [586] After the death of a man's wife and his remarriage, the obligatory avoidance observances between him and relatives of his first wife may be terminated:

If the family has no more girls he can marry and a man gets permission to marry out of the family after his wife's death, perhaps he will not want to avoid his first wife's father any longer. In that case he will take a cigarette and go

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through that ceremony. This happens a good many times. It happened with S. and P. not long before S. died. That was about six months ago. P. was S.'s father-in-law. They had been hiding from each other for over forty years. Six months ago they gave each other cigarettes in this way. After that you could see them sitting together talking, just like any other two men. The same thing happened between M. and K.

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Personality conflicts in the avoidance relationship.—In spite of the absolute standards of good will which are supposed to govern the relations between a married man and his affinities, conflicts in interests and in personalities do occur. The wife is in continuous touch with her relatives, and any indignity she suffers at the hands of her husband is immediately known to them. The husband is in an anomalous position until his standing among his wife's kin is assured, for, although he is nominally considered the head of his household, he is subject to the strict scrutiny of his wife's relatives. [592]

Irritations and resentments between affinal relatives sometimes erupt into open hostility: [579]

R. was . . . . always abusing his wife. It led to a fight between him and the woman's stepfather. The stepfather was just like a bulldog. In the fight he bit R.'s finger off. He must have swallowed it, for they never found it. It was a jubilee fight, right on a moonlit night!

The older participant, the wife's stepfather, had never avoided his opponent. Therefore, the encounter did not involve a violation of the avoidance obligation. But in the heat of anger even that extreme breach of etiquette has been known to take place: 606 578

A man has just beaten up his mother-in-law. This man has avoided his mother-in-law and her sister. He has had trouble with his wife and has been separated from her. Now he has tried to get his wife to go on with him again. He went over to her place. Her mother was so angry at him that she came right over to the place where he was. They threw everything to the wind and began fighting. He beat her up. They won't even use polite form any more. They insulted each other and got kicked, so what's the use of polite form now? But this does not mean that the man will not continue to avoid his mother-in-law's sister. It depends on the individuals concerned. 579 [602]

Of another mother-in-law–son-in-law breach this account was given: 606 578

One man had serious trouble with his wife and her family. His mother-in-law helped his wife throw stones at him and drive him out of camp. She saw him that

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time! But now they are hiding from each other again. This happened about six months ago.

The last part of the quotation reveals the usual aftermath of such violent incidents. Ordinarily the principals are very contrite and are glad to have the episode forgotten.

Quarrels between son-in-law and father-in-law are likewise not unknown:

We were staying at the old man's place [the father-in-law's place]. They came after me. They had been drinking tiswin and were drunk. I heard them say, "We'll beat him up." They went out to the woodpile to get clubs to beat me with.

"I don't like this," I said to my wife. "I don't want to live here."

She said, "I can't help it. I'm afraid of my father. He's pretty bad."

I said, "The best man's going to get away from here!"

These three who were coming for me were all relatives of my wife; they all used polite form to me too. But they were sticking up for the old man. I got my ax. I was angry. They came for me. I came out of my home. I had the ax behind me. They advanced.

I said to the first one, "What do you want?"

"You are not the only man!" he told me.

I said, "You come any nearer and someone is bound to get hurt!" and I began swinging my ax. One of them is a coward. He backed out when he saw the ax. Another began asking, "What's he done?"

I told him, "Don't make believe! You've got a club in your hand, and you know what you've got it for."

Just then one of my relatives came. "What's the matter?" he asked. I told him. "If they're going to club you, they've got to club me too," he said. Then they backed down.

Once an informant asserted darkly that his mother-in-law was "no good." The only explanation of this unusual statement he would vouchsafe at the time was, "She comes around here and cusses me out." Little by little the details of the clash emerged. His later statement was this:

I was sitting in the agent's office and she came right up to me. "After this we will not avoid each other," she said. I guess she was angry at me about something. She feels pretty bad about it now, but I am not going to avoid her any more. She can hide from me if she wants to, but I am going on just as I am now.

But the actual cause of the quarrel had to be obtained from other sources and turned out to involve property of the woman which had been improperly disposed of by the son-in-law.

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MARITAL AND SEXUAL LIFE

PERSONALITY ADJUSTMENT BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE 593

THE common term for mate, used reciprocally by husband and wife is "companion," or, literally, "one with whom I go about." Their joint concern in maintaining a home, rearing children, and securing the necessary household supplies requires close co-operation between them. Although [562] men receive greater deference in public and women are subordinated to them in many ways, at home the feeling tone is usually one of equality between husband and wife.

Occasionally, in spite of the fact that women are considered [562] more unstable than men, "easier to tempt," and more prone to quarrel over trivial things, the wife may be the dominant figure in an encampment. One extended family is continually referred [596] to by the name of the wife of the founding pair, though the husband is living. In this case, the man is very retiring and so is generally ignored. Of another man it was said, "Now he is a slave to his present wife; she cusses him out anywhere."

That a wife is in touch with her kinsmen and has a haven [602] available gives her an assurance in dealing with her husband which she might otherwise lack. If she is badly treated, she can [586] escape to her parents' dwelling, and they will permit her to stay there. Then "the man has to beg for his wife from the outside, and he may or may not get her back."

Still, parents are often unwilling to involve themselves in the 593 personal affairs of their married daughter unless the situation is 606 truly desperate. One father, though he complained of his son-in-law's conduct, seemed in no mood to give his daughter help:

> One time my daughter came in and began crying to me. She said, "That man beat me again. I am not going back to him! I don't want to live with him any more!" I told her, "I told you not to marry that man, but now that you have done it, you had better go over there and take your medicine."

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The permanent disruption of a household involves the entire extended family; therefore, the woman's relatives watch anxiously any developments which may deprive them of the services of a satisfactory son-in-law. Their tendency is to support the woman in minor disputes; but, when she is obviously in the wrong, they are just as likely to side with the husband and to remind their relative of her wifely duties:

I feel sorry for that boy, my son-in-law. He's a good boy and steady, and I know he is trying to do the right thing. But my girl is not doing what she should. She's not keeping house in the right way and she is beginning to run around. She thinks I don't know it. I'm going to put a stop to it.

586

DIVORCE

The word for divorce can be translated "they walk away from each other." To divorce a person is "to throw him (her) away." The woman is ordinarily left in possession of the home which she has built, the household utensils which she has made, and her private effects. If the trouble has been long continued, the husband is willing enough to leave the encampment of his wife's relatives. He takes with him his personal possessions only; there is no return of marriage gifts at divorce.

The most common causes of divorce and the procedure have been summarized in these words:

Unfaithfulness on the part of husband or wife, brutal treatment on the part of either, and nagging are causes for trouble and divorce. Laziness on the part of either, failure of the man or woman to do the proper share toward the support of the home, and excessive gambling on the part of the man are other things that lead to divorce. Barrenness on the part of the woman is sometimes given as a cause too.

The one who intends to break it up just goes, taking what valuable personal belongings he has. It's about half and half; sometimes women divorce men; sometimes it's the men who leave. Divorce just consists of getting up and leaving.

Additional factors and details are given in another comment:

Usually divorce follows if a woman cannot work well or if she is cranky and hard to get along with. Sterility is also a cause for divorce, and frigidity too, for men don't like that kind of a woman. Even if a woman is sweet and a good worker, a man could divorce her for sterility or for frigidity. If she is sterile, a woman might get on with her husband for a while, but he will soon divorce her. Pretty soon she'll be passed from man to man, and she isn't respected.

[558]

1: Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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With divorce, each person takes his own belongings without fuss and goes to his and her old home. This did not often happen. The woman has little power to stop a divorce if her husband wants one. Even if she doesn't want a divorce her husband can get up and leave. If the woman wants to leave and the man doesn't want her to, he can try to hold her by force. But she can usually get away to her parents' home. 586

Impotence as well as frigidity may be an important factor in divorce decisions: 586 833

When a man can't get an erection, it is attributed to witchcraft. If it can't be cured, this might be the real reason back of a divorce. [754]

If a woman marries an impotent man, she may stay married to him for wealth or something, but most likely they would separate.

After divorce, though a man must continue the avoidances and polite forms which his marriage brought into being, the material hold of his former wife's relatives is at an end: 586 602 606.

If a man is determined to divorce his wife, or if she insists on divorcing him, the parents-in-law cannot very well stop it. All the obligations of the man to support the woman's family stop at divorce. He cannot be made to marry any sister or girl cousin of his wife at any time in the future.[1] But avoidances and polite forms go on. Both the man and the woman are free from each other and from each other's families as soon as the divorce has gone through, as soon as they have separated. They can each marry as soon as they wish again then. [595] [587]

The presence of children acts as a decided brake to divorce action. "In the old days it was pretty hard to get a divorce when there were children. It was not often done then." 586

If, in case of divorce, the mother's relatives are willing to contribute to the support of the children and the mother is willing to maintain her household, this is considered the best solution. Though there is no definite rule, there is the feeling that children should be under the care of the mother and her kin during their formative years. Babies who are not yet weaned always remain with the mother, and, in general, very young children are likely to stay with her. Sometimes older children, particularly boys, are claimed by the father. When the man can charge that the woman is at fault and has not been a fit parent, public opinion and the pressure of group leaders force acquiescence on the part of the wife and her relatives. [626]

[1] For a discussion of the sororate see pp. 421–25.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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156 Every now and then a woman would be expert with the bow and could make arrows and a bow. This is exceptional though. Two women here could do everything like a boy when they were young. D. could ride well, make a bow and arrows, and was a real athlete. She has been married. Her husband died just a few years ago. She has never had children, but her husband was married before and had two children by his first wife.

[838] These women, though they are more interested in masculine pursuits than the average woman, are not considered transvestites. [868] All girls are urged to be strong and fast. It is simply accepted that these particular individuals have carried the requirement further than is strictly necessary. Their preoccupation with such things was confined primarily to their youth. They have married, have accepted the woman's role in all essentials, and in old age are not distinguishable in dress or behavior from others of their sex and years. The attitude of those discussing them is never one of ridicule or condemnation but rather one of admiration.

838 True berdaches are rare, and their emergence is definitely discouraged. The last one of whom I have a record died before 1880:

P. and S. had a brother who was like this. He never married. He died in Old Mexico. This man talked and walked like a woman, sewed clothes, and made moccasins. He didn't make baskets though. He went where the women were all the time. He hardly ever went where the men were playing at hoop and pole, and he himself never played it. Instead he played the stave game with the women. Such people were never treated with any great respect by us. We just laugh at them.

595 [773]

POLYGYNY AND SORORAL POLYGYNY

In a coyote story a white man whom Coyote deceives is said to have two wives. The polygyny with which this alien is credited is really practiced by some men of the tribe:

In the old way a man can have more than one wife. Of course, he isn't expected to take more than one wife if he can't afford it. If he isn't a leading man or a good warrior, he shouldn't do it. A common man is criticized for it. It is the wealthy men who have more than one wife. A man can have more than two wives. It depends on a man's position and whether he can provide for them.

When a man takes a second wife, it is usually a sister or relative of the first. But this is not always the case. Perhaps there are no more girls in that family, or there are none of the right age. [602] [606] If the women a man marries come from different families, he has to hide from both his mothers-in-law and keep up the avoidances and polite forms for the relatives of both those women.

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to him by a messenger with the words that after that they would not have to be ashamed before each other. If the man accepts the cigarette, he no longer has to avoid her and is free to marry her. 587 602

If she has not been avoiding him but was just using polite form to him, she could offer the cigarette herself, saying that thereafter the polite form would not be necessary. If he accepts it, all would be as before. [195]

Even when the family to which a man is "bound" has no girl to offer in place of the deceased, the man must act with the greatest of respect until he is formally freed:

If his father-in-law has no more daughters, the husband will want to marry out of the family after a while. He will say, "I am young and I wish to marry. I respect you and your family, but you have no more daughters for me." He has to get permission to marry out. If the old man refuses permission, even if he has no more daughters, the young man will have to obey. The old man, the father-in-law, is the boss. When the young man gets permission he goes off to another encampment and marries there. [606]

An excellent example of the spirit in which an understanding is reached and of the speeches that pass back and forth before the widower regains his freedom of action is provided in this account:

If, after my wife's death, my mother-in-law has any more daughters and she likes me, she will send one of them, and I'll marry her. But if she has only sons, and finally I feel that there is some other woman I want to marry, I talk to my brother-in-law, if he is old enough, and I say, "I have had a hard time, but now I want to marry again. You have no other girls for me to marry, and now I am ready to marry again."

Then he will go and tell his mother, and the next day he will come back and say, "What has happened has happened. It can't be helped. If we had anybody to give you, we'd give you a woman. You have been good to us, and we hate to have you part from us, but there is no help for it. We hope you will get a good girl and be happy." After this you are not under obligation to your mother-in-law.

The levirate.—The existence of the levirate does not give a man any extraordinary privileges with the wife of his brother or male cousin while these relatives are still alive: 587 607 605

In the right way a man is supposed to have great respect for his cousin's wife. You should leave your brother's wife alone and your cousin's wife alone too. They call you a witch if you do otherwise. Only when people get very old do they joke a little when they are related like this—people of R.'s age [sixty-five to seventy] might, but never the young people.

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1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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It is not an easy task to learn these stories. You have to be patient when the stories are being told. You have to listen very closely. You have to sit up at night when it's very cold, no telling how long, sometimes all night. When a funny story comes along, everybody is laughing. And at all other times you have to listen very closely and be quiet. As much as I have sat up and listened to the stories, I have to be reminded of some of them in order to get it correctly the way I first heard it.

When Coyote stories are being told, there is generally a big crowd present. The older people, before they told the Coyote stories, would say, "When you tell these stories, they make you very sleepy." When you get sleepy, they wake you up. They shake you or they tickle your nose with grass. I've been treated that way. But, if someone just can't keep awake, they let him go to sleep.

Both old men and old women could tell the stories. It would be like this. Some of these stories are very funny, and many times the boys of about fourteen years of age would get together and go to some old man's home and say, "Tell us Coyote stories."

But the Apache is very careful not to embarrass someone before whom he is ashamed, even when he is telling Coyote stories. If he comes to one of the stories that would embarrass anyone, he says, "I want to tell you, in case people who are ashamed before each other are here, that I am going to tell some very funny stories now." Of course, not every man will do this; it depends on the individual. A man like C. doesn't care what he says. But I remember that most people would be very careful at such times. Once my father was telling stories. My brothers were there, and my sister and my wife and some other women. Pretty soon he came to one of these stories. One by one we men went out and went into a shack next door. You probably noticed that just now I told my son-in-law to go into the tent next door, build himself a fire, and stay there. I just don't want him to hear me tell stories like that.[3]

When interested people, young or old, visit him to hear his rendition of the myths and tales, it is an opportunity for the narrator to display his hospitality as well as his abilities. He seldom allows his guests to leave without offering them food: [574]

One time at Fort Sill seven of us boys came to N. About ten o'clock he said, "Make coffee for these boys. I don't know how long they'll stay. We'll have lunch about midnight." So we stayed and had a big lunch. That's what they used to do a long time ago, he said. N. knew the old ways. We stayed until three or four in the morning listening to old stories.

[3] No father-in-law avoidance is practiced in this case. Though the informant is a Chiricahua, his son-in-law is a Lipan. The Lipan do not practice avoidance of affinal relatives. [606] [184] [602]

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

534 For musical instruments these Apache used the drum, the animal-hoof rattle, the musical bow, the flageolet, and a curious one-stringed fiddle made from the flowering stalk [276] of sotol which may be of Spanish origin. In their peyote rite [796] the Mescaleros accompanied their songs with the gourd rattle.

411 In addition to the shield and the bow and arrow, which have already been mentioned, the Mescalero and Chiricahua fought with spears, slings, flint knives, and war clubs of a number of types. Quivers, bow covers, and wrist-guards were other material items belonging to the war complex.

433 That these people made cradle-boards, fire drills, parfleches, skin tipis, and cloths and blankets of buckskin and animal hides has already been indicated. Water transportation 501 was solved by the construction of a crude bull-boat or raft-like structure.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

596 The tribe, band, and local group have already been described. The remaining social segment is the extended domestic family, which acted as the basic economic unit. Such an extended family would be housed in a cluster of individual dwellings and would ideally consist in an older married couple, their unmarried children, their married daughters, [591] the sons-in-law, and the issue of these. As can be inferred from this, residence was matrilocal. All the cooking [252] for the members of this family group was carried on at one place by the mother and her daughters, and the latter sub- [606] sequently took portions of the prepared food to their husbands and children, for a mother-in-law—son-in-law avoidance [476] was in effect. Whenever there was work to be done which involved the labor of more than one person, the men or women of this extended family, according to the nature of the task, assisted each other in its execution.

584 Marriage was arranged between the older kin of the man and woman involved, usually at the instigation of the young man, who, with the approval of his own relatives,

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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would ask a kinsman to act as intermediary for him in seeking the girl's hand. This "go-between" would visit the girl's parents' encampment, offer presents, and seek to make the necessary arrangements. If the girl's relatives approved the offer, the girl and her mother erected a dwelling in the vicinity of the parental home, and the union was recognized as soon as the boy took up residence with his new wife. Sororal polygyny was permitted, and the young man, if he proved a successful hunter and good provider, was encouraged to marry the younger sisters of his wife as they matured. Both the sororate and the levirate were practiced. A man could be forced to marry a sister or female cousin of his dead wife, and the woman could not refuse her dead husband's brother or male cousin if he wished to marry her. At marriage the Apache man was obliged to observe an unusually large number of avoidances and special forms of speech in respect to his affinities. Among others, the Mescalero man avoids his mother-in-law, her mother, her mother's sisters, and her sisters. In addition to avoiding his wife's female relatives, the Chiricahua man is called upon to avoid his father-in-law and may be requested to avoid other of his wife's male relatives. More distant relatives of the wife might request a special form of address known as "polite form" instead of avoidance. Where a choice is possible and avoidance is requested of a man by the affinity, it signifies great love for the girl through whom the relationship has been established and approval of the match.

The Apache man who enters the extended family through marriage is expected to work unremittingly for his in-laws. All the game that he kills in the hunt is brought to his wife who carries it to her mother's home for utilization and distribution. Whatever parents-in-law command or suggest, a son-in-law is expected to perform.[3]

3. For the details of the Mescalero and Chiricahua kinship systems see Opler (21).